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ABSTRACT

There are several disturbing trends in U.S. public life. Citizens are increasingly distancing themselves from the institutions that structure decision making in the public domain. There is a diminishing sense of community, individuals tend not to have any personal obligation to their fellow citizens, nor do they seem to expect any consideration from others. The behavior of young persons show them to be both victims and manifestations of this progressive social pathology in frightening ways. One proposal for countering this trend is the idea of student service or community service as a feature of public education. This paper seeks to survey existing scholarship in social psychology and learning theory in search of research supportive of educational efforts to promote community service. A social psychological model of action is outlined and discussed in the interest of understanding the psychodynamics that underlie the withdrawal from community, and its flip side, commitment to community service. This model is related to specific goal areas appropriate to social education, and research relevant to implementing those goal areas in the classroom are reviewed. A proposal for integrating the goal areas into history, geography, government, and economics courses also is advanced. A 78-item list of references is included. (DB)

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WHAT CAN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH TELL US ABOUT
COMMUNITY SERVICE & THE SOCIAL STUDIES?

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A REPORT ON COMMUNITY SERVICE CURRICULA

There is a crisis in American public life. Increasingly everyday American citizens are distancing themselves from the institutions which structure decision making in the public domain. Accordingly individuals increasingly view those in positions of authority as personal servants rather than public servants, with a consequent erosion of the capacity of public institutions to act in the public interest. This tendency has always been a part of the American political culture, but in the past few decades it has been enshrined as a core value, as reflected in the expectation that a legislator's first responsibility is constituent service.

This trend is problematic, because as expectations of constituent service replace a concern for the public interest, the very capacity of government to perform its most basic functions is eroded. The recent failures of the Federal Government, as reflected in the savings and loan disaster and the expanding deficit should be seen as warning signs indicative of a collapse of the sense of community. The paralysis of government is merely the symptom of an advanced case of social pathology.

In part this accelerating trend is a function of such historically rooted forces as urbanization and the accompanying increase in the size of government. These forces are probably irreversible, and so we must learn to accommodate society to them. The more serious problem, however, is the failure of the institutions of society to recognize the complex and subtle influence urbanization brings to bear on the relationship of the individual to society.

In a simpler time like the America of Thomas Jefferson, individuals conducted their lives in small, personal communities such as the extended family, the village, or the small town. In that scaled down social milieu people had the luxury of time to assess the character of those with whom they associated. Accordingly regular patterns of relationship were worked out between individuals, and a web of community bound those people together with bonds of mutual obligation and interdependence. It has been said that the curse of small town living is that everyone knows everyone else's business. If that is indeed a curse, then urban living with its anonymity is a personal blessing, because it frees individuals of their social obligations to their peers. Of course one person's social obligation is another's expectation of consideration. When one disappears the other is lost. Thus a personal blessing becomes a public curse. In this fashion urbanization destroys the conditions for community.

In the American experience individuals have intuitively recognized this deficit in urban life. Accordingly recent immigrants to the city have sought out smaller and more personal communities, such as store front churches. Such communities, however, are fragile islands in a sea of anonymity. For most of their working lives city dwellers associate on an anonymous basis with many of their fellow human beings. For those individuals who lack the financial resources to insulate themselves behind the lawns of their suburban homes, the

gates of the country club, or the windows of their automobiles it is necessary to depersonalize those with whom they are in daily contact in the city. This depersonalization is the necessary precondition for the violent acts which increasingly characterize urban life in America. The violence is so easily perpetrated because the victims have been reduced to objects, sometimes referred to as mushrooms.

Those who successfully isolate themselves from their fellow citizens, however, have also lost community. By withdrawing from their fellow citizens they avoid the personal sense of obligation to the anonymous other, and accordingly lose their right to expect that other's consideration. Such withdrawal from community is a progressive phenomena. As each incremental withdrawal results in a reduction of consideration from other people, commitment to the idea of community is eroded. Apparently for many young people in urban environments this progressive social pathology is well advanced, as witnessed by the phenomenon of wilding, the use of the term mushroom to designate innocent bystanders who are slain in drug-related shootouts, and general disregard for the law and the decline of ordinary courtesy. The general decline in political participation on the part of adult citizens may be yet another manifestation of this pathology.

One proposal for countering this trend is the idea of student service or community service as a feature of public education. The sponsorship of this proposal by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching suggests that this is an idea for which American society is ready (Harrison, 1987). Even before the Carnegie Foundation proposed a new Carnegie Unit in Student Service in 1984, school districts throughout the United States had launched new programs. There is, however, a serious lack of research and theory supportive of educational efforts to promote community service. Some of the questions which beg answers concern the relationship between community service in a school setting and propensity for community service in later life; the conditions associated with successful community service experience, and even the clear statement of what is meant by the term community service. The first of these concerns will require longitudinal research efforts, and accordingly cannot be preliminary to the implementation of community service programs. The second concern can be readily addressed on the basis of existing scholarship in social psychology and learning theory. Much of this paper will be directed to the task of surveying this scholarship. The third concern will be addressed here at the beginning of this report.

Community service/student service connotes individuals and/or groups of students engaged in volunteer service to the community. Careful scrutiny of the term community is warranted here. Conceivably community could refer to a relationship between two or more individuals; it could refer to a relationship between an individual and a large impersonal institution such as the state; or it could refer to a relationship at any scale of abstraction in between. This issue should not be dismissed as trivial. If community service curricula are being proposed as a response to a growing alienation of young people from society, then it is critically important that we

consider the issue of scope of community (Brandhorst, in press). We know that many young people in large urban areas have sought community in gangs. This has not for the most part resulted in any sense of community with the larger body politic. There are reasons to believe that community as a face to face experience does not operate in accordance with the same psychodynamic as community in the abstract. Therefore there are reasons to be skeptical that face to face community service, whatever its immediate payoffs in satisfaction for the participants, will necessarily lead to any improvement in the conditions of community life at large in the urban setting.

This report assumes that theory and research concerning the design of community service curricula must accomodate the scope of community issue. The assumption running throughout this report is that for purposes of curriculum design community service refers to two distinct phenomena, one personal and direct, the other abstract and remote, community service as public citizenship (Newmann, 1989). A curriculum designed to prepare youth for future participation in one of these forms does not prepare youth for participation in the other.

Thus a community service program which focuses on involving youth in service projects in their immediate neighborhood may well foster neighborhood involvement in the future; but they will not address the problems of alienation from the larger society. That this has been misunderstood by policymakers is clear from the Carnegie Foundation report on student service, which quotes Diane Hedin as follows: "community service may be, after all, 'what citizenship is all about--acting in a decent way toward people who live where we live'."

The distinction between these two forms of community service may in some fashion parallel the distinction between private virtue and civic virtue. James Madison's argument that civic virtue is functionally distinct from private virtue, and critically important to democratic society, should alert us to potential problems with a community service curriculum which only promotes "acting in a decent way toward people who live where we live". Perhaps there is much more to citizenship, and accordingly there should be much more to community service curricula.

Concerning private virtue, there is evidence that young people are not naturally opposed to the idea of community service, and harbor within themselves a capacity for caring about others, an expression of private virtue. Democracy's Next Generation, a research study commissioned by People for the American Way, provides an interesting profile of youth. Many young people apparently equate citizenship with being a good person, i.e., private virtue. This portrait of the good person includes on the one hand such elements as helping elderly neighbors, helping a friend who has abused drugs, collecting money for a needy cause, and volunteering an hour a week for a community project (p. 54). On the other hand only 38% say they have performed any community service activity in the past year (p. 51). The contradiction between what is seen as appropriate activity and what is actually done is interesting, and may document the first stage in the withdrawal of youth from commitment to community. As such it calls for some explanation.

There seems to be little if any evidence that youth have any sense of civic virtue. Democracy's Next Generation refers to 'an inward-looking generation', and describes a generation closely caught up with their own personal lives and chances for success. They apparently see little connection between their own prospects for the future and the future of the society as a whole. This would appear to document not a withdrawal from community, but an impoverished understanding of what is meant by community.

In the following sections a social psychological model of action will be outlined and discussed, in the interest of providing some insight into the psychodynamics which underly the withdrawal from community, and its flip side, commitment to community service. The model will also be used to illustrate how different understandings of community will lead to very different kinds of citizen behavior.

This model will then be related to some specific goal areas appropriate to social education, and research relevant to implementing those goal areas in the classroom will be reviewed. Finally, a proposal for integrating these goal areas into history, geography, government and economics courses will be advanced.

Social Psychology and Citizen Action

Human beings do not act on their environment in a random fashion. Under normal circumstances they act intentionally, and their intentions are shaped by cognitive influences, which we can describe in terms of beliefs, and affective influences which have traditionally been described under the rubric of attitude. One of the more prominent models for describing the operation of these influences is that of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975). This model is represented in figure 1. The Fishbein/Ajzen model is characterized by its unequivocal recognition of the influence of both normative beliefs and beliefs about consequences of behavior as interdependent influences on action. Furthermore, it is an interactive model, in that it accommodates the influence of prior action on future beliefs.

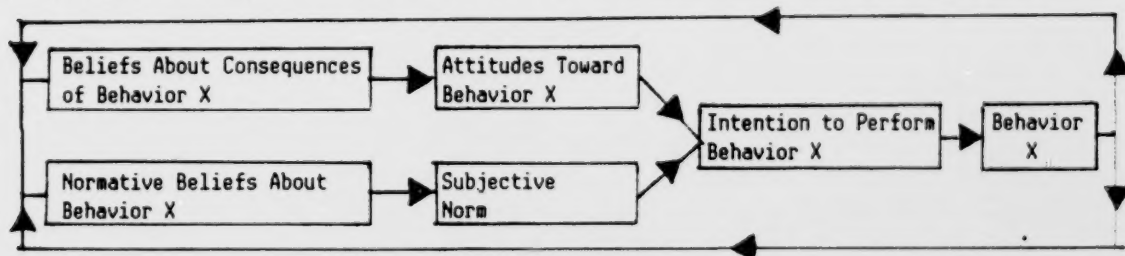


Figure 1

The model proposes that beliefs about consequences act through attitudes or some affective equivalent to influence behavior. Presumably affect represents a motive force for action, and the affective components of the model organize those motive forces to either promote or inhibit action. Fishbein and Ajzen have proposed

that these motive forces arise from the experience of the actor, and are a cumulative reflection of those experiences. Thus no matter what beliefs actors may harbor with regard to actions, only those beliefs that have been linked to consequences will act through attitude to influence intentions for behavior. In the context of citizenship behavior presumably community service would be influenced by beliefs about the consequences of that service. Furthermore, positive and negative consequences are balanced against each other in order to determine whether consequential beliefs create an intention to impel or inhibit action. Again, presumably community service would be more likely if the actor believed that the consequences of the community service would on balance be more positive than negative.

Normative beliefs influence action through the agency of subjective norms. Only those normative beliefs which are dominant in an immediate social context will act on intentions to impel or inhibit action. Accordingly, an individual is more likely to engage in community service activities in a social context which supports such action.

A clear implication of this model is that the individual's beliefs about consequences are framed by the sense of relatedness to the community. For the inward looking individual the consequences of behavior which are acknowledged are those which impact directly on the individual; for the civic minded individual the consequences of behavior which are acknowledged are all of those which are perceived as impacting on the self as a member of a community. The distinction is profound, and will warrant careful consideration at some point.

Similarly normative beliefs are framed by the sense of relatedness to the community. To the extent that an individual lives in a world of citizens obsessed with private virtue but oblivious to civic virtue, there are no operative norms for action in the public interest. Accordingly there is no basis for public morality; there is only private morality. All behavior in the public domain becomes amoral.

The Fishbein/Ajzen model can be further elaborated to accomodate competence beliefs (see figure 2). In this elaboration beliefs about competence are broken out from beliefs about consequences, and are hypothesized to operate through an affect labelled 'ego investment'.

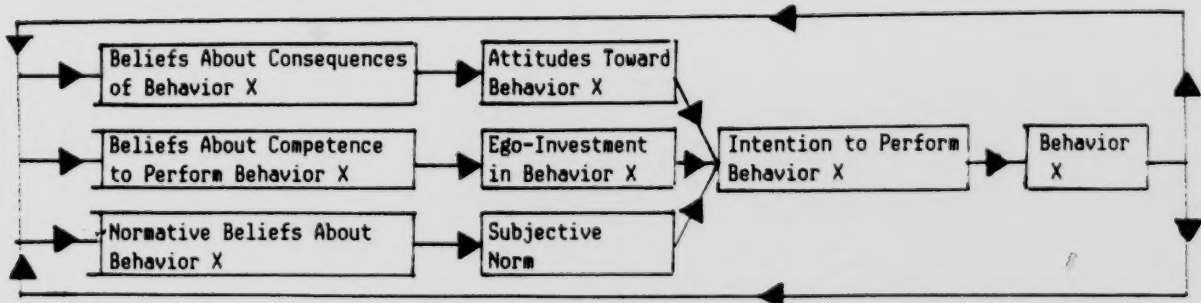


figure 2

The proposed dynamic operates something like this. An individual has a belief about his or her competence to perform a particular action, like making a speech in front of his or her high school class. If one has had frequent prior successful experiences with this behavior, the competence beliefs are positive, and impel the intention to do it again. Presumably, an individual who has experienced positive consequences of speech making in the past will be more likely to engage in such behavior in the future. If, however, prior experience has been unsuccessful, then competence beliefs inhibit the intention to do it again. The operative affect here is personal risk, operationalized as anxiety, which varies across high and low ego investment in the behavior. For the individual who has defined him or herself in terms of school success, the speech in front of class is a potentially risky activity. Consequently past failure acts as a powerful inhibitor of repeating the action, and may promote a panic attack under circumstances when such behavior is required. For the individual who has no such heavy commitment to school success, giving the speech can be a risky activity, but for a different reason. Many adolescents view overt cooperation with authority as a threat to their fragile self-image as independent adults. For these individuals the chance of making a fool of oneself, and appearing less adult and independent, transforms the speech into risky behavior.

Any behavior in which an individual has not previously engaged is potentially risky. The degree of risk is, again, a function of ego investment in the behavior. From the perspective of this model, anything which can reduce the degree of risk associated with the behavior will increase the likelihood of the behavior occurring. Two immediately obvious factors which can operate to reduce the degree of risk are the provision of peer support and the creation of a play environment. There are probably other equally viable means to this end.

A moment's reflection should also suggest the possibility that inward-looking individuals, obsessed with individual success, are under an additional increment of pressure, because they are more extensively exposed to risk. In a society which worships competition and individual success, the highs are more pronounced, but so are the failures. The inward-looking individual is predisposed to view performance in terms of winning and losing, and neither the victory or the defeat is shared. The burden is private. Young people in classrooms regularly flee from threats to their competence by refusing to commit themselves to classroom assignments (nothing ventured, nothing lost), and by acting cool, thereby securing the support of the peer community and diminishing the risk.

Let us consider for a moment how the extended Fishbein/Ajzen model might predict tendencies toward community service. Beliefs about consequences would be supportive of community service efforts for those who have had, on balance, more successful than unsuccessful experiences in this area. Success, however, is defined in subjective terms. If the individual is capable of empathy it is reasonable to presume that community service on a personal level could be personally rewarding through an empathy with the recipient of the service. The

operative variable here, however, is the capacity for empathy. There is evidence that young people involved in community service found the activity rewarding (Democracy's Next Generation, p. 62). However, we know nothing about these respondents capacity for empathy, and we do know that not all youth have a pronounced capacity for empathy. It is possible that young people with a reduced capacity for empathy cannot find personal rewards in community service.

For those individuals who have not been involved in community service (a majority of youth), association with youth who have had successful and rewarding community service experience might predispose them to believe that they could experience similar rewards. The enthusiasm may in fact be contagious before the fact. A caveat is in order here. The experience of reward which comes from community service is highly personal and may be difficult if not impossible to articulate. At best those who have had such experiences can provide testimonials for their experience, but of course the research on the effectiveness of testimonials highlights the salience of the status of the one providing the testimonial. Even if testimonials could induce others to participate in community service, whether such action would continue is dependent upon the actor's own subjective experience in the community service activity.

There is also the problem of community service which is not face to face with the recipient of the service (picking up litter along the highway, contributing to a community service agency, the recipients of which will never be known, participating in a recycling project). It may be farfetched to assume that empathy with the beneficiaries serves as a means of experiencing rewards under these conditions. Quite possibly a much more schematically elaborated network of beliefs about the indirect relationship of oneself to events on the world stage is essential to the operation of beliefs about consequences in promoting more impersonal community service. Something of this nature can be teased out of the data in Democracy's Next Generation. On the one hand there is extensive evidence that young people see community service and citizenship in personal terms in their own neighborhood; on the other hand, they seem to be alienated from the political process and national affairs. Clearly they do not have extensively elaborated schematic networks of beliefs linking their own welfare with participation in the political process. By way of illustration, they are overwhelmingly optimistic about their personal futures, while a majority are pessimistic about the nation's future. Extending community service activity into the larger arena of the nation as a whole may well require extensive teaching on a cognitive level about the connections between individual action or inaction, effects on the society at large, and subsequent consequences for the individual.

Normative beliefs also can influence community service activity. Individuals whose significant others value community service are accordingly predisposed to value community service, at least in those contexts where the approval of those significant others is salient. Thus young people whose parents have demonstrated a commitment to community service are presumably more likely to engage in community service. It follows that young people whose parents are not committed

to community service are less likely to engage in community service. As reported in Democracy's Next Generation, a majority of 23- and 24-year olds cite this as a reason for non-involvement (p. 58). Certainly it is possible that peer groups could function as alternative normative supports for community service activity, and this probably should be explored.

Significantly, normative beliefs as a foundation for impersonal community service activity are not subject to the same constraints as are beliefs about consequences. Normative beliefs as causes of behavior are linked to the affiliation motive, and the need for affiliation can be accommodated either by personal, face-to-face or impersonal community service, given adequate psychosocial development. Accordingly normative belief oriented approaches to community service curricula may have considerably more flexibility in terms of the range of their outcomes.

The limitation on normative belief approaches to the design of community service curricula may be more a matter of its transferability out of the peer group context. Individuals who experience community service primarily in the context of an established peer group may be ill-equipped to do so in the absence of this kind of support. For this reason there may be curricular imperatives for social skill training components as auxiliary support for community service curricula dependent upon normative belief dynamics. Through social skill training individuals' potentials for developing satisfactory and supportive peer group relations throughout life might be enhanced. The importance of such relationships for citizen involvement should not be discounted. Research studies have documented the centrality of informal peer interactions to the shaping of public opinion and involvement with public affairs (Costanzo, Archer, Aronson & Pettigrew, 1986).

Beliefs about competence can also influence community service activity. Individuals who feel competent to engage in community service activity are much more likely to do so. For those who do not feel competent, either because of the absence of any such experience or because of negative experiences in the past, self-initiated community service activity is unlikely. Under these conditions community service curricula must be designed to create reduced risk conditions for community service. As cited earlier, there are means for reducing risk, notably the creation of a play context or the provision of a group context for activity. By providing the conditions for successful experience in community service, the school can increase the student's feelings of competence for engaging in this activity in the future.

A limitation on these kinds of curricular initiatives for promoting community service in later life is possible for individuals with a generalized sense of low competence. Given that self-initiated community service activities of adults are seldom accompanied by guarantees of community support, a curriculum for accommodating self-knowledge enhancement may be a necessary element of support for a community service curricula.

Taken together, the various elements of the Fishbein/Ajzen model provide a number of suggestions for structuring a curriculum for community service. The integrated nature of human decision making about action, however, should not be overlooked. While the model represents these various separate lines of influence, the degree to which one line of influence dominates another in specific circumstances is not addressed. Accordingly a truly adequate curriculum for community service cannot afford to focus narrowly on a part of the model. A responsible community service curriculum must address the model in all of its particulars. By approaching the problem in a balanced manner the probability of curricular effectiveness will be enhanced.

Curricular Goals and Community Service

A model of the psychological structure of community service does not directly indicate what curricula for community service will look like. Educational activity is interventionist in nature. It seeks to alter the existing state of mind of the learner. A model of the psychological structure of community service suggests how effectively the mind as a system accommodates community service activity. As such it highlights potential areas of difficulty. These areas of difficulty provide a focus for curriculum design.

Because all curriculum efforts are purposive, implicitly or explicitly all curricula imply goals. The design of community service curricula accordingly must address the issue of goals. Curriculum design requires attention to differences in kind of learning goals. Educational programs produce some outcomes which are primarily cognitive knowledge, some which are primarily affective, some which are skills, and some which are conative. A sound curriculum design seeks to control the manner in which instruction produces these various kinds of outcomes. Clearly the learning dynamics associated with the acquisition of skills are quite different than those associated with affective outcomes; likewise knowledge acquisition does not require the same set of conditions as conative outcomes. As knowledge, skill, affective and conative outcomes all have a place in the adequate community service curricula it may be useful to use those distinctions as an organizational framework.

Five distinct types of goals have a direct linkage to community service curricula. These are social skill goals, intellectual knowledge and understanding goals, social attitude and values goals, social conation goals, and self-knowledge goals. As each of these different types of goals imply unique conditions for learning, it is appropriate to examine each separately in order to discern the implications of each for community service curricula.

Social Skill Goals

Social skills are first of all skills. As such they imply a more or less automatic, trained response capability. Underlying all social skill is an implied familiarity with social and cultural conventions, and an habitualized ease of operation within those conventions. It is

this capability that makes it possible for the socially skilled individual to effortlessly meet the expectations of others in social interactions. It is this condition of expectations met which promotes an aura of confidence and trust, and reduces defensiveness.

The educational problem here is to promote the acquisition of social skill. A considerable body of research and scholarship is informative here. One line of scholarship has attempted to construct inventories of social skills. Such inventories typically include capabilities for identifying group characteristics, interacting with groups, listening to others, empathizing with others, reading non-verbal cues, recognizing one's own feelings, and practicing self-control (Brandhorst, 1985; Goldstein, Sprafkin, Gershaw, & Klein, 1980). While such inventories provide a starting point for curriculum work, a caveat is in order. An inventory of social skills cannot be directly translated into instructional practice because of the frame problem (Goffman, 1974; Goleman, 1985). Social behavior is appropriate or inappropriate according to the context in which it is exhibited (Rathjen, 1980). Providing social skill training in an atomistic fashion (one skill at a time, acquired on the basis of practice) encounters all the difficulties associated with decontextualized learning (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989). The skill may be learned, but it is not a social skill, because the necessary connection with context has been ignored. Accordingly effective social skill training will occur in natural or in carefully designed simulated settings (see Brandhorst, 1984 for a profile of minimalist conditions for social simulations).

Another line of scholarship has attempted to address the problem of learning to read non-verbal cues, an essential element in reading contexts. A decade of research on this problem is nicely summarized in Rosenthal et al (1979). Rosenthal and his colleagues explored the domain of non-verbal communication via the Profile of Non-verbal Sensitivity instrument, or PONS, a videotape based assessment device. This line of research is still in its infancy, but it clearly indicates major differences across individuals in non-verbal sensitivity.

Social skill can be broken down into cognitive factors and behavioral factors. D'Zurilla & Goldfried (1971), addressed the cognitive factor of interpersonal problem-solving process. They identified five elements of this process: a problem set, or recognition that a problem exists; problem identification; generation of alternative solutions; selection of the most appropriate alternative; and outcome evaluation. Their research indicates a linkage between interpersonal problem solving skill training and healthy social adjustment.

Selman (1980) has studied the cognitive factor of social inferential ability as a developmental phenomenon. His stage model of the development of social inferential ability outlines five stages of development: perception of others as objects; awareness of intentionality in others; awareness of other's knowledge of self's intentions; awareness of stable, predictable, traits in personality;

and awareness of unconscious motives. These stages presumably operate within four broad domains of interpersonal understanding: conceptions of individuals; friendship; peer groups; and parent-child relations. The research indicates a linkage between social inferential ability and both prosocial behavior in children and peer popularity. The evidence that intervention programs have a lasting effect on modifying social inferential ability is lacking. Conceivably there are age-related developmental imperatives concerning social inferential ability. These would have to be accommodated in curriculum design.

As interpersonal perspective taking is central to interpersonal understanding, strategies which promote perspective taking have a place in the curriculum for community service. Berman (1990) identified several strategies which have potential for promoting perspective taking. These include role playing, journal writing, Martin Hoffman's inductive discipline (1984a,b) and methodological belief (Elbow, 1986; Berman, 1987). An eclectic illustration of how perspective taking can be promoted in the social studies classroom has been developed using the Arab-Israeli conflict as content (Brandhorst, 1990a). This approach might be used as a prototype for strategies merging content and method in pursuit of social skill development.

There is a growing body of literature on the behavioral factors of social skill. One promising approach is that of Camp and Bash (1980). These researchers drew on the work of Vygotsky (1962) to develop a think-aloud program for developing self-control. They report improvements in social behavior for children who completed an elaborate eight week program and a booster program administered 9 to 12 months later. Their research documents the feasibility of conducting social skill training programs in classrooms.

A promising comprehensive social skill training program for public schools has been developed and tested (Rotheram, 1980). Her results with fourth and fifth grade students show positive results in terms of social skill development. By comparison, her discussion of social skill training with adolescents indicates considerably greater problems. Perhaps this suggests that social skill training as an element in a community service curriculum would most effectively be positioned in the elementary school.

Perhaps the most difficult and complex element in social skill training concerns the development of empathy. This most basic of human qualities has always been problematic for curriculum developers. The difficulty with the development of an empathy curriculum stems primarily from the failures of psychologists to operationalize empathy, and the lack of agreement among scholars about the nature of its companion quality, altruism. The development of a capacity for empathy is a central element of any curriculum for community service, but as it will be addressed in detail later in this paper, the discussion will be deferred at this time.

What kinds of guidelines for community service curricula emerge from the literature on social skill acquisition? The following principles are warranted.

1. Social skill may be promoted most effectively in the elementary school classroom; possibly late elementary is preferable to early elementary grades. This is suggested by the developmental imperatives identified by Selman.
2. Social skill may be influenced by the ability to read non-verbal cues. Accordingly some curricular components should accomodate the development of sensitivity to non-verbal cues. Evidence of gains in PONS scores across test-retest conditions may indicate the efficacy of videotape induced sensitivity in improving non-verbal sensitivity.
3. Social skill training for community service must accomodate the frame problem. Accordingly some of the social skill training should be embedded in community service activities.
4. Social skill is linked to social inferential ability. This is a developmentally anchored ability. Accordingly planning for social skill training should be informed by assessments of the developmental readiness of youth for the training.
5. Social skill training programs should include components addressing the problem of self-control.
6. Social skill training programs should accomodate the development of listening skills.
7. Social skill training programs must address the issue of promoting the capacity for empathy.

Intellectual Knowledge Goals

Participation in community service activity is unlikely under conditions where individuals cannot see that a particular activity is serving any community purpose, and there are no normative pressures supporting the activity. Consider the case for recycling aluminum cans. Most aluminum cans are used in the home, and are disposed of in the privacy of the home. Thus there are limited normative pressures on family members to separate the aluminum from other trash for recycling. Yet there is enormous community service potential latent in the aluminum recycling movement. The benefits to the community at large from the energy saving differentials between processing raw bauxite into aluminum and the reprocessing of old aluminum metal are of major significance to the community at large in reduced energy costs and reduced air pollution. The low levels of public participation in recycling aluminum cans in home trash may well be partially a function of the failure to realize the connection between such behavior and their own long-term benefit.

What we have here is a problem in intellectual understanding of the interdependence of the various elements in the world ecosystem. Beliefs about consequences of behavior are finally dependent upon an awareness of a linkage between a behavior and some consequence in the future. Thus the failure to realize the cost of the convenience of

easy trash disposal in terms of increased energy costs in the future negates the operation of beliefs about consequences as an influence on behavior. While we have used aluminum recycling as a case in point, a vast array of individual choices and behaviors actualized in private are part of the private community service agenda. That agenda includes such behavior as car pooling, using mass transit, driving smaller more fuel efficient cars, demanding fuel efficient homes and appliances, and using designated drivers to keep drunk drivers off the highways, to mention some of the more obvious particulars. None of these agenda items are likely to be realized unless the average citizen can be brought to an awareness of the connection between individual, personal behavior and consequences for self.

Intellectual understanding as a goal of education has been addressed in the literature via the scholarship on schema theory. According to the tenets of schema theory the human mind stores patterns, or schemata, as representations of things experienced (Rumelhart & Ortony, 1977; Rumelhart & Norman, 1978). Those schematic patterns are the basis for our understanding of how the world works, including all the cause effect relationships that we believe to be true. Thus our beliefs about consequences are directly dependent upon the schemata we have internalized, and the way in which those schemata have been networked in our minds.

If public education fails to persuasively teach young people the extent to which they are part of the world ecosystem, connected in a cause effect relationship with all other people and all other elements of our planet, then we should not expect success from public appeals for voluntary participation in private community service activities. The alternative, of course, is legislation to coerce behavior consistent with community service. Research has documented the effectiveness of such legislation under conditions of normative support (Kahle & Beatty, 1987). The difficulties of enacting such legislation in the absence of an informed electorate, however, may be insurmountable, returning us to the necessity for education.

The research and scholarship on promoting schematic understanding of the phenomena of the world consistently supports the established literature on concept teaching and learning. Concepts are a particular type of schema. An extensive body of scholarship on concept teaching and learning in the social studies has been accumulating over the past decade (J. Betres, M. Zajani & P. Gumieniak, 1984; W. Stanley, 1984; C. McKinney, A. Larkins & D. Burts, 1984; D. Burts, C. McKinney & B. Burts, 1985; M. Ford & C. McKinney, 1986; R. Yoho, 1986; A. Gilmore & C. McKinney, 1986; C. McKinney, D. Burts, M. Ford & A. Gilmore, 1987; C. McKinney, A. Gilmore, H. Peddicord & R. McCallum, 1987; F. Crisman & J. Mackey, 1990). As much of what we know about concept learning in the social studies has been reviewed and synthesized by Stanley (1985) it will not be repeated here. One of Stanley's observations, however, warrants special notice here. He states "as the schema theorists and others have indicated, one really does not understand a concept adequately until it becomes clear how it is used and how it relates to other relevant concepts." This is clearly a call for integrating concepts into

relationships and systems, the key to helping young people realize the interrelated nature of all events in their world.

Unfortunately there is a considerably less rich literature in social studies on the acquisition of schematic networks corresponding to relationships and systems. Commonsense experience would tend to support the utility of visual-spatial displays of relationships and systems. Graphs have long been used by popular media to transmit relational knowledge; and visual models have been used effectively to simulate systems. The recent work of Stephen Kosslyn on the cognition of spatial images may be particularly appropriate here, and may indicate directions for future research. Berman (1990) reports that a group from MIT is currently working with teachers in Brattleboro, Vermont to integrate systems dynamics into the curriculum. As this work progresses we may acquire more insight into the most effective means of promoting the capacity of young people to think in terms of integrated systems.

The systems which are critically important intellectual foundations for community service curricula are not restricted to social studies. Increasingly they are interdisciplinary, and include environmental-ecological systems from biological sciences as well as global systems of economic interdependence. This imperative of community service curricula directly challenges the disciplinary focus of many of the new social studies initiatives. A history centered curriculum is severely limited as a vehicle for exploring global systems of economic interdependence, and a stand-alone social studies curriculum does not easily accomodate the interfacing of environmental-ecological systems and socio-economic systems. A social studies curriculum supportive of community service must find a way to bridge these distinct curricular empires.

Beyond that initial concern, there are existing problems with the dominant American cultural heritage which must be addressed if social studies curriculum is to provide youth with an adequate intellectual foundation for community service (Brandhorst, 1990). Specifically, the unbalanced and ideological commitment of American culture to economic models of man must be balanced by more communitarian values; and the society must nurture the respectability of secondary control as a means by which individuals can accomodate their need for control. The former can be addressed through the modification of the economics texts used in secondary schools, specifically by qualifying the limits of applicability of the market mechanism in allocating goods and services. The latter cannot be addressed effectively except through the education of all teachers in the importance of secondary control as a cultural value.

Another body of scholarship on schema theory, less widely familiar to social educators, is that which deals with the cognitive representation of stories, scripts, scenes, plans, goals and understanding (Schank & Abelson, 1977; Mandler, 1984). While less well developed than that which focuses on categorical knowledge, this scholarship may provide the vehicle for understanding how individuals develop a capacity for caring about larger, less direct associations

with others, i.e., the sense of community with a larger, unseen group like the city, state or nation. As such it may in time provide the cognitive underpinnings for educational efforts at connecting the individual with the larger society. Something of this nature is implied in the work of Vitz (1990) on the connections between stories and moral development. As this work is central to the discussion of social value goals its discussion will be deferred to that point. The reader is also directed to a growing body of social studies scholarship on the uses of narrative in the social studies classroom (see Levstik, 1986; Common, 1987; Egan, 1989)

What guidelines for community service curricula emerge from the scholarship on intellectual knowledge goals?

1. The community service curriculum does not stand alone. It will be effective in promoting lifetime commitment to community service to the extent that it provides young people with an understanding of the relationship between their actions and the ultimate costs of those actions for themselves.
2. Concept learning is the underpinning of all education linking the individual with the larger society. Accordingly concept teaching must be conducted with careful consideration of the research on how concepts are most effectively learned.
3. Intellectual knowledge goals serve community service curricula when concepts are taught as features of larger networks of relationship.
4. As we develop a better understanding of the manner in which systems dynamics are learned, that understanding should become part of the knowledge base for the preparation of social studies teachers.
5. Social studies must reach out to other curricular domains to seek collaboration in promoting the development of integrated systems thinking.
6. Stories may be an essential element in the networking of concepts into relationships and systems if the intent of instruction is to foster a sense of caring.

Social Attitudes/Values Goals

Participation in community service activities on a volunteer basis is unlikely under conditions where the volunteer has no sense of shared community with the recipient of the service. Accordingly one of the key problems for curriculum design concerns the conditions under which individuals acquire a sense of community with others. The literature on empathy and altruism is instructive here, but before beginning that review it will be useful to define the key terms.

Empathy as a psychological construct has been defined as the involuntary, at times forceful, experiencing of another person's emotional state (Hoffman, 1976). This same researcher defines

altruism as any purposive action on behalf of someone else which involves a net cost to the actor (for the argument in support of the validity of altruism as a viable construct see Caporael, Dawes, Orbell, & van de Kragt, 1989). Hoffman argues that empathic capacity is natural in humans, and under the proper social circumstances evolves via the development of sympathetic capacity, into a capacity for altruism. In Hoffman's model of altruistic development, a cognitive sense of the other is central to the experience of sympathy.

When there is a capacity for identification with others (a cognitive process) there is a capacity for sympathy, and a potential for altruistic behavior. Accordingly we must begin this discussion with an exploration of the grounds for a sense of identity with others.

The sense of identity with others is a function of that part of the self-concept which is labelled ego-extension (Rosenberg, 1979). The characteristic quality of ego-extension known as introjection is defined as "the adoption of externals (persons or objects) into the self, so as to have a sense of oneness with them and to feel personally affected by what happens to them." Sympathy with and altruistic potential toward others is a function of ego-extension, as is civic virtue. The promotion of ego-extension may be the baseline social values goal in community service curricula.

We have all experienced ego-extension in one form or another. Perhaps the most common and frequent form of this experience is the identification with characters in movies and stories. If we did not identify with such characters, we could not care about their fates in the dilemmas structuring the story line. The power of narrative to promote ego-extension may provide a key to the design of the social values component of the community service curriculum, and to the promotion of civic virtue. Stories as elements in the elementary school curriculum may foster a capacity for caring for others, particularly members of those groups with whom the child does not interact on a day-to-day basis.

A proposal of this nature turns the tables on the long-standing curriculum paradigm of the elementary school, the expanding environments approach. Using narrative to promote ego-extension suggests that the curriculum can become the impetus for the child's view of the world, rather than simply a response to the child's growing awareness of the world. By introducing the young child to a larger, more diverse world through fantasy and story, the parochial tyranny of the expanding environments approach can be broken. Something of this nature has been cogently argued by Egan (1979). Egan's thesis is that educational development evolves through four stages, the mythic, the romantic, the philosophic and the ironic. Egan's approach to development is superior to that of Piaget in that it accommodates both the narrative and the paradigmatic modes of thought identified by Bruner (1986). By comparison, Piagetian development is narrowly focused on the paradigmatic.

Egan's second stage, the romantic, would be the developmentally most adequate point for the use of narrative in promoting ego-extension. Egan's discussion of the romantic stage provides an

outline of the ways in which detailed narratives of courageous people remote in time and place can capture the imagination of youth. The same principles should apply to the use of narratives of courageous people of different ethnic and/or class heritage, thereby promoting ego-extension to include those who are culturally different. This outcome has always been a prominent feature of multi-cultural education, and may well be a critical underpinning for community service curricula.

If we wish to promote community service in the larger sense, to include both face-to-face neighborhood service and private, psychologically remote service to the larger, impersonal community, perhaps we must help young people extend their egos to include the larger, culturally diverse community beyond their neighborhood. Narrative used consistent with the proposals of Egan would facilitate this process. This suggests the following guideline.

1. Elementary and middle school social studies programs should stress the use of romantic narratives as content.

Another social value goal central to the design of community service curricula emerges from the work of Hoffman (1987). Developing the learner's capacity for caring for others via ego-extension does not ensure that the learner will experience empathy and/or sympathy, or develop a capacity for altruism. Hoffman argues that empathy for another's life condition provides "a motive base, especially in adolescence, for the development of certain moral and political ideologies that are centered around alleviation of the plight of unfortunate groups" (p. 52). This empathy for another's life condition, however, is a capacity arrived at developmentally. It crowns a succession of stages of empathic development, including global empathy, egocentric empathy, and empathy for another's feelings as prior conditions.

While many young people will arrive at adolescence with a developed capacity for empathy, many may not. Accordingly some hard decisions will be required concerning the commitment of the school to promoting community service curricula for all. To extend this program to include everyone may well require the promotion of empathic development throughout the school curricula. This problem has been addressed by Oliner (1983) under the term prosocial behavior, defined as "concern for others, acts of helpfulness, charitability, self-sacrifice, and courage where the possibility of reward from the recipient is presumed to be minimal or non-existent and where, on the face of it, the prosocial behavior is engaged in for its own end and for no apparent other" (Rosenhan, 1972). Oliner identifies three aims of prosocial education, all of which appear to be consistent with the development of the capacity for empathy. They are (1) to encourage the development of caring and concerned citizens; (2) to promote prosocial behaviors; and (3) to develop the cognitive competence necessary for intelligent prosociality. Oliner identifies these guidelines for putting prosociality into the curriculum.

1. Prosociality should be added to the normative criteria by which the behaviors of national and global "heroes" are measured.
2. Students need to recognize that altruism and care are roots of political behavior as much as greed and ambition.
3. Students need to become aware of the prosocial activities of ordinary people much like themselves, so that they perceive opportunities for directing their own prosocial impulses in potentially effective ways.
4. Students need to learn prosocial skills.

These guidelines are particularly useful because they can be readily incorporated into the established social studies curriculum. This possibility will be discussed at a later point.

Social Conation Goals

Community service participation as a lifelong activity is partially dependent upon a continuing sense of competence to help others. Beliefs about competence evolve out of the experience of success in influencing events. Social conation goals are focused on the development of the awareness that one is in control. The sense of competence grows in response to successful experience. The more success one experiences in community service the more the sense of competence for community service is enhanced.

Success in community service, however, is a subjective phenomena. The literature on community service frequently refers to the feelings of satisfaction reported by student volunteers (Harrison, 1987; Democracy's Next Generation, 1989). Presumably this feeling constitutes the essence of the experience of success in such activities. It would appear that such feelings would enhance beliefs about competence to provide community service, and accordingly promote the continuance of this behavior. If this is in fact the motivational dynamic underlying the continuance of community service, we must consider the effect when community service activity does not lead to feelings of satisfaction. Will those occasions lead to a diminished sense of control, and a decline in competence for community service?

The full development of the sense of competence depends upon the internal experience of control on a continuing basis. Controlling the social environment is referred to as primary control (Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984). Many situations in life, however, are beyond our capacity to directly control. In these situations the sense of competence is diminished unless an alternative form of the experience of control is available. In Japanese culture a kind of secondary control is granted cultural legitimacy (Azuma, 1984). That control centers on the sense one has of deliberately choosing not to try to control a particular situation. The enhanced value of secondary control in Japan is underlined by the degree to which its various forms are differentiated, as *makeru ga kachi* (yielding as indicative of an individual's maturity), *nagai mono niwa makare ro.* (yielding as

resignation in the face of superior force), and *naku ko to jito niwa katare nu* (yielding out of love or empathy). The availability of an

alternative to direct control over the environment allows for the continued exercise of the sense of control even when a community service activity has a limited capacity to reward the actor with a success experience. Those who design curricula for community service might well consider the importance of preparing youth to deal with the experience of loss of control over outcomes which is ever present in community service activity. An appropriate community service guideline would be:

1. The school should promote secondary control as a cultural value, and prepare students for community service by explaining that there are no guarantees of payoff in community service activity.

Personal Knowledge and Understanding Goals

We come finally to the core, or terminal, goal of community service curricula, the promotion of a sense of self as part of a larger unit. All of the preceding goals stand in relation to community service as preliminary, important primarily as means to the end of improving the success of community service experience. Community service can be seen as a culminating experience, which can transform the individual's sense of self in relation to the community.

All of the preceding discussion has implicitly assumed that community service should become a part of the curriculum as an educative means to a citizenship end. That end would be a citizenry with an enhanced sense of social responsibility, or civic virtue. Any curriculum which is centrally focused on preparing learners for action outside the school context must address the issue of the authenticity of learning. Briefly, the authenticity issue concerns the extent to which learning in the classroom has been decontextualized, and accordingly is incomplete. The presumption here is that thought is always situated in a cultural context. Classrooms, constituting a special kind of cultural context, embed school learning in a context different than that in which the learner will be expected to use the learning (Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989; The Cognition & Technology Group at Vanderbilt, 1990). Social simulations have been proposed as a means of addressing the authenticity problem with regard to intellectual knowledge goals in social studies (Brandhorst, 1984).

Authentic learning for civic participation, however, cannot be readily simulated in the classroom, because the central element of the phenomena is a relational interaction in which the participants' sense of self is transformed. Donald Oliver refers to this phenomena as grounded knowing, and discusses it in relation to the concept of presence (Oliver, 1990). Community service which is immediate and direct service to individuals provides an irreplaceable vehicle for authentic civic participation, and is the essential means to the apprehension of private virtue.

The civic virtue of the public citizen is the foundation for the community service which is private and individual. Individuals act

privately in a socially responsible way when their extended self-concepts cause them to experience consequences for the society as consequences for themselves; and when they acknowledge the salience of community oriented norms. This civic virtue may best be promoted via reflective civic participation (Newmann, 1989). As described by Newmann, a curriculum for reflective civic participation must attend to five concerns: the necessity for decision and action in the face of pervasive uncertainty and ambiguity; the morality of public policy and personal choice; issues of strategy in setting policy and action goals; clarification of students' personal civic commitments; and the promotion of authentic discourse between students and teachers. These features may well be critical dimensions of community service, if community service is to lead to civic virtue.

Some of the literature on community service, however, apparently is less than committed to these ends, or is confused about the means to these ends. The 'new volunteerism' reported in Serow (1990) apparently emphasizes the self-serving ends of community service and the benefits to the community as a whole (Abdennur, 1987; Moskos, 1988;). Similarly, Harrison (1987) reports on plans to make community service non-voluntary, and Barber (1989) argues for requiring community service in relation to developing civic forms of judgment, a potentially conflicted agenda. As Serow argues, "the essence of prosocial behavior is the free choice that individuals make to help other people. Attaching extrinsic reinforcements or requiring such behavior runs the risk of transforming a good deed into another academic obstacle" (1990, p. 203). Such a transformation can only be viewed as detrimental to the development of prosociality.

All educators considering community service curricula must eventually engage in soul searching to sort out the means and the ends of this kind of curriculum. Clearly the enunciation of guidelines for the personal knowledge goals of community service will require careful thought and much deliberation.

Fitting Community Service to the Social Studies Disciplines

Mapping community service curricula onto the social studies disciplines will always be an unfinished task. What is offered here is a limited number of ideas about more or less compatible meshings of community service curricula with content domains. On a purely arbitrary basis the mapping process will be organized in terms of goal areas central to community service.

Intellectual Knowledge and Understanding Goals

The importance of conceptual teaching to community service curricula has clear implications for the organization of coursework in civics, government, and economics. Content selection in these courses should begin with the identification of concepts which can provide a basis for understanding the interdependence of all people everywhere. Clearly this is not a linear process. We can best find those key concepts by looking at systems of interdependence in the world around us. At the curricular design level this process might best be

approached via some variation on the concept mapping techniques currently being developed by cognitive psychologists (Holley & Dansereau, 1984). Once those patterns of interdependence have been mapped the concepts most central to understanding the system nature of our physical and social world will be more easily identified.

The key concepts might then become the basis for training students how to develop concept maps of their own. A blueprint for this process has been developed for science education by Novak and Gowin (1984). Much of their work is directly applicable to the mastery of social science concepts, relations, and systems in a technical sense. Student mapping of concepts into networks has the advantage operating off of the the bounded rationality of each student. Accordingly teachers reviewing those concept maps can gain a clear picture of the gaps and omissions in their students' understanding of the system aspects of those social science disciplines.

Having taught social science in a system fashion, however, does not complete the instructional process. Future citizens must acquire more than a detached intellectual understanding of systems. They must also acquire a sense of their own connections to systems, both as causative agents and as recipients of consequences coming through the system. Individuals lacking civic virtue will connect themselves with those consequences which impact on them as private citizens. Individuals who see themselves as part of a community will connect themselves with those consequences which impact on members of the community. Thus it becomes important to provide learning experiences which will help students to extend their self-concepts to embrace the various communities in their lives. The most promising approach to this educational problem is that proposed by Egan (1979). Egan's description of the romantic stage of educational offers clear suggestions and rationales for incorporating much that is narrative in form into social science instruction for early adolescents. Narratives which provide scripts incorporating the key social science concepts, relationships, and systems may be critically important curricular elements of civics, government and economics courses if we hope to develop in our students a capacity for caring about the consequences of their behavior.

The selection of content for the history curriculum should also be subject to the influence of the key concepts, relationships and systems identified for civics, government and economics curricula. Much of the history curriculum readily lends itself to the use of narrative, preferably not of the textbook variety. A high school history curriculum might provide a much more effective support for community service curricula if it was organized around chronologically sequenced narrative pieces which capture and humanize the events of each era. Again, as with the social science discipline curricula, the developmental model of Egan provides a worthy guide and rationale for organizing the history curriculum. By selecting the narratives with an eye toward the key concepts, relationships, and systems of the civics, government and economics curricula, a further elaboration of the interdependence theme can be achieved. The narrative form would

carry the burden of providing for ego-extension, thereby promoting the development of the sense of self as member of a community. The selection of narratives also determines how broadly the community will be defined. The bibliographic work of James Banks in identifying a broad range of ethnically focused narrative is invaluable here.

Social Skills Goals

These goals are probably most effectively promoted in the elementary school, and only reinforced on the secondary level. Social skill goals can be pursued in virtually any content context, via some of the procedures associated with cooperative learning (Slavin, 1990). The social skill agenda cannot, however, be fully realized via cooperative learning. Social skill curricula must accomodate the frame problem. Accordingly it is important that elementary and secondary school social studies programs build in opportunities for young people to engage in group work in the community beyond the classroom. To some extent this might be facilitated via cross-age tutoring programs. This agenda is also approachable via such activities as Model United Nations, or Junior Achievement, where young people have the opportunity to practice their social skills outside the classroom. However social skill goals are incorporated into the curriculum, it is important to remember that they are means to an end, and not an end in themselves. They will realize their full potential when young people have successful interpersonal interactions on their own, and learn to use their rudimentary social skills to solve social problems.

Social Attitude & Values Goals

We are concerned here primarily with promoting the capacity for empathy, sympathy and altruism. Accordingly there is an imperative for using narrative material, particularly in the elementary school social studies courses, in the interest of promoting a capacity for caring for others. Oliner's proposals for putting prosociality into the curriculum might provide a worthy guide for selecting narrative material.

On the secondary level there is a great need to reconsider the nature of curricula in economics in particular. Modern life increasingly forces choices upon us for which our heritage and traditions provide few guidelines. Consider for the moment some of the economic issues associated with surrogate motherhood. As Ellen Goodman has cogently argued, there are serious problems associated with allowing the free play of market forces in allocating access to wombs. Some of the same concerns are applicable to the allocation of organs for transplant purposes. The brave new medical world has opened either a cornucopia or a pandora's box, depending upon your perspective and your economic resources.

Economics curricula as represented in textbooks is most often detached and analytic. It most often treats the idea of markets as an unmitigated good. The time may have finally arrived when we must

require that economics curricula address the limits of applicability of the market mechanism as a means of allocating goods and services. Until we qualify the self-interest norms of economics with some limits on their applicability we will have a conflicted curriculum. At the present time the economics curriculum undercuts the community service curriculum, by eroding normative support for community service activity.

The government curriculum also poses potential threats to the community service curriculum. When a government text readily advocates political action committees, it creates a norm for this approach to citizenship. As the recent past has demonstrated, however, political action committees are for the most part a metaphoric extension of utilitarian economics into the political realm, which ultimately reduces government to the level of an auction.

In this kind of normative political environment the conditions for community service are diminished. At some point we must look carefully at the messages we send in government textbooks. Do we want our students to approach the political arena as a marketplace, or do we wish to promote a capacity for civic virtue? If our textbooks are sending mixed messages, perhaps we should see that they are rewritten.

In the history curriculum, some of the proposals of Oliner apply. Perhaps we should use the criteria of prosociality when selecting the heroes who are highlighted in history texts; and perhaps we should seek out examples of the application of altruism and care in the political process.

Social Conation Goals

Social conation goals are applicable throughout the curriculum. If we wish to promote community service throughout the lives of our students we must equip them with the capacity to persist in community service activity even when they experience repeated failure. As Fred Newmann observes about political participation, 'participation brings the awesome responsibility of having real influence in peoples lives, and young people are not alone in shying away from this, especially when the responsibility may bring painful consequences. Resolving issues through action and through elections creates winners and losers. Losers usually suffer psychologically and economically' (Newmann, 1990, p. 359). The psychological distress diminishes competence beliefs. Promoting a capacity for secondary control can reduce the psychological distress and enhance the capacity for persistence. We can promote secondary control in the classroom if teachers provide positive reinforcement for behavior which evidences secondary control.

We must also find ways to ensure that students experience success in community service ventures. Chamberlin (1990) cites a number of studies in which grade five, six and seven school children who were involved in community service projects developed enhanced sense of their own efficacy (Taylor & Moore, 1983; Chamberlin, Connors, & Massey, 1983; Dueck, Horvath, & Zelinski, 1979; Johncox, 1983; Chamberlin, 1979). Belief in one's competence to make a difference is

the crucial final link between wishing for a better world and making it happen. Chamberlin's review suggests that much of the work toward this end can be done in the upper elementary school years.

On the high school level students could be engaged in voter registration drives as a part of a government class; they could be involved in recycling projects as part of an economics class; they could be required to identify pressing community needs in which they could make a difference, and encouraged to organize themselves to take action. Such efforts are probably more likely of success if they arrange for pairing those with some community service experience with novices.

Personal Knowledge and Understanding Goals

The culminating goal is to enhance the capacity of youth to see themselves as members of a community, and to promote public citizenship. As such we do not produce this outcome directly. This is an indirect outcome of social studies curriculum. If we have attended to all the other elements of the social studies curriculum, the likelihood that this culminating goal will be achieved is enhanced. Accordingly this goal is not the proprietary interest of any element of the curriculum. It is an endpoint for all curricular elements.

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